

countries. Next to this he cited the need to diversify industry and to build exports.

Touching on Brazil, Mr. Rockefeller said that after the revolt there last year he invited seven leading Brazilian business leaders to meet with important executives here. "We organized an all-day meeting. They told us that the revolt was not merely a military exercise. The plans they had for their country then are now being carried out."

Mr. Moore said an important meeting to "energize the Latin American Free Trade Association beyond just speechmaking" will be held in Buenos Aires early next month. The president of the First National City Bank commented that "politicians can blueprint plans, but only businessmen can implement them."

He added: "We are optimistic that this year will see progress—not solutions, mind you—but real continued progress in Latin America."

JEWISH CASE FOR EXTENDING NAZI PROSECUTIONS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article from the New York Herald Tribune of Sunday, February 28, 1965, by Morris Abram, president of the American Jewish Committee, making the case for extending the statute of limitations on prosecution of Nazi criminals in the German Federal Republic. The West German Cabinet has recently indicated its willingness to support extension of the period of limitations. This is a world problem of justice, and not just a German problem, and I am very confident that the Bundestag will vote for extension when the issue comes before it next week.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

JEWISH CASE FOR EXTENDING NAZI PROSECUTIONS

(West Germany's statute of limitations, as now interpreted, will make it impossible to start new prosecutions of Nazi war criminals after May 8. Last November, the West German Cabinet took the position that it would be legally impossible to extend the deadline. Reaction across the world stunned the West Germans. Last week, the West German Cabinet voted unanimously to support legislation to extend the deadline. The Bundestag is to debate such a measure on March 10. Morris B. Abram, president of the American Jewish Committee, met with the German Minister of Justice and gave him a memorandum on how he believes prosecutions can continue without doing violence to the law. This is his memorandum.)

I have had the benefit of reading a translation of your article on the subject in the official Bulletin of the Federal Press Service on January 8, 1965.

I respect your views: We have regained freedom to live in accordance with law and order and we are no longer exposed to arbitrariness, including changing laws retroactively as the Nazi legislation liked to do.

As you, I believe deeply in the rule of law as the precondition of justice and civic peace. Therefore, I do not ask you to adopt special German legislation of an ex post facto nature to deal with the problem.

You yourself have seemed to recognize the widely accepted view that German basic law against ex post facto legislation, article 103, paragraph 2, applies only to substantive law.

You grant that some others feel that the statute of limitations is only a procedural rule and that an extension of its term would on that account not violate your article 103,

paragraph 2, as ex post facto legislation. However, I am willing to accept your view that the statute of limitations contains both substantive and procedural elements and that an enlargement of the period would be constitutionally prohibited.

Finally, I have not overlooked, as you point out others have constantly, particularly those abroad, the fact that prosecutions in any case will after May 8, 1965, proceed in individual cases wherein some judicial action has been taken before that date.

On the other hand, I have noted with interest and concern your own recent statement in Tunis recognizing that a very small number may escape.

(Moreover, your further statement in Tunis that it is in the spirit of a statute of limitations that some criminals escape justice could cause considerable anxiety if misinterpreted.)

Again, despite the revision I share with the civilized world on the contemplation of Nazi crimes, I both respect and accept your adherence to the principle of the rule of law and I have predicated this memorandum on this premise.

You are prosecuting Nazi criminals under a German criminal law dating from 1871. Admittedly, this law covers these crimes, but these crimes are so gross as to extend far beyond the contemplation of the legislators of 1871.

Other states operating under a rule of law, such as France and Belgium, have recognized the inappropriateness of ordinary criminal statutes for Nazi crimes, and have treated them distinctly with different statutes of limitation.

Also, the Legal Committee of the Legislative Assembly of the Council of Europe has recommended consideration of what basically has been the French and Belgian approach to this problem. Your nation is affiliated with the Council and no doubt you are aware of the statement attributed to the chairman of the Legal Committee, Mr. Hermond Lanning, of Denmark, on December 18, 1964:

"He specified that this recommendation was particularly aimed at the Bonn government but by politeness it would be aimed at all European governments."

It could be argued that the rule of law, developed by an international consensus, therefore not only permit but requires that Nazi crimes against humanity be treated other than as a simple domestic law violation. The view of the French National Assembly expressed on December 17, 1964, that applying the doctrine of the Nuremberg Tribunals, such crimes are not of an exclusively national character and therefore without a statute of limitations, is entitled to serious respect.

Certainly, if the Nazi "crimes against humanity" as defined by the United Nations resolution of February 13, 1946, and by the International Tribunal at Nuremberg, are so accepted as crimes under international law, they may be considered outside your 1871 code. Your constitution, article 25, appears to give ample support to the supremacy of such laws, providing that such take "precedence over the (domestic) laws and directly create rights and duties for the inhabitants of the Federal territory."

From the above it would seem that prosecutions of Nazi crimes could proceed under law other than the code of 1871, without the impediment of the Statute of Limitations provided in that code. Nothing exceptional would be required with respect to the 1871 code, merely a recognition that it is not the exclusive source for trial and punishment of Nazi crimes against humanity.

I somehow feel that the legislators in the relatively humane days of 1871 would not be surprised by such a determination.

But now I turn to a point which requires no speculation, no legal imagination or inventiveness, but only a rigorous and accurate application of the German Code of 1871.

If you should continue to hold the view that Nazi crimes against humanity must be prosecuted exclusively under the code of 1871, then I respectfully beseech you to re-examine the date you have chosen for the commencement of the 20-year period of the statute of limitations.

The 1871 code directs that the time limitations runs from the day of the commission of the deed, unless prosecution was impossible.

Admittedly, you have been commencing prosecution for several years of persons charged with Nazi crimes committed more than 20 years previously. Your basis for such actions is that until May 8, 1945, such prosecutions were impossible.

Thus you have extended the 20-year period of the statute by a discretionary determination of the date on which prosecution became possible.

You might within reason and on the basis of fact have chosen a variety of such dates, but May 8, 1945 (V-E Day) is not a defensible selection.

In short, you have recognized the principle that the statute did not commence running until the date prosecution became possible, but you have chosen the wrong date.

On V-E Day there was no German Government to enforce its 1871 code. On V-E Day the German state had collapsed. It was weeks, and months, before the Allied Powers were themselves able to restore a minimum of the ordinary processes of government beyond mere police power and subsistence rations.

To contend that any sovereignty and competence existed on V-E Day to ferret out all Nazi criminals is simply absurd. In point of fact, the Allies, preoccupied with the gathering of evidence for the prosecution of Goering, et al., at Nuremberg, had great difficulty in the months that followed in obtaining the evidence in those limited cases.

Nor did the Allies ever pretend to do the complete task of bringing to justice all those Nazis whose acts were clearly subject to the 1871 code as well as other laws.

From my own limited experience on the staff of the International Military Tribunal, I know where attention was rightly focused and realizes the limits of the resources of the occupying powers to bring all criminals to justice.

I recognize that up to now you have chosen to interpret the 1871 statute to mean that the 20-year period runs from the date any sovereignty, including the occupying powers, had the competence to prosecute. However, I submit that this is not the intention of the statute.

If you chose to employ a German domestic statute as the exclusive source of prosecution, consistency requires you read that statute as referring to the German Government's possibility of commencing prosecution. Surely in 1871 the German legislature did not have in mind the circumstance of prosecution of Germans by English or Americans, and (1 year after the Franco-Prussian War) certainly not by the French. Thus the possibility of prosecution contemplated by the statute means possibility of prosecution by German authority.

On May 8, 1945, German authority did not exist. Nor did German authority and competence to commence prosecutions come into being for years.

There was no Ministry of Justice until 1949. There was no limited sovereignty until 1951. Not until that year did you have a Foreign Minister communicating with other powers in whose hands rested many records and witnesses necessary for prosecution. Final German sovereignty was not regained until the Bonn Conventions came into effect on May 5, 1955.

During this entire period, the records which a normal state accumulates and col-

1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

3665

Railroad and allow its commuters to ride through to the Newark station of the Pennsylvania Railroad. There they will be able to make connection with Hudson tube trains and the Jersey Central will discontinue its expensive Bayonne ferry service.

Pennsylvania Railroad: The vast Pennsy carries about 11,500 rush-hour commuters approximately 106 commuter route miles daily on a New Jersey shore line and main and branch lines in a southwesterly part of the New Jersey area of the region, about 106 commuter route miles. That's just a drop in the bucket of 200,000 passengers a day that use its Pennsylvania Station in New York. Pennsy reports its commuter operation runs at a heavy deficit but has shown no sign of trying to drop it.

Long Island Rail Road: The biggest rail commuter operation to New York, with 85,000 rush-hour commuters, is, characteristically, in the worst financial shape. Under a special State law it has been a ward of the Long Island Rail Road Redevelopment Corp. since 1954. Under the aegis of the act it has received enough fare increases and other aid to about break even on operating costs, without paying anything on the Pennsy's long-standing \$180 million interest on its 212.4 route miles. A report was to be released today from a committee appointed by Governor Rockefeller to recommend what's to become of the line when the redevelopment act runs out next year. The LIRR disclosed recently that it had ended 1964 with a \$2,146,350 deficit, the worst in a decade. However, the railroad said that it was more than covered by \$3,315,000 in additional revenue raised through a 4.9 percent fare hike in November.

BANKERS ANNOUNCE FORMATION OF COUNCIL FOR LATIN AMERICA

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed at this point in the RECORD a news release issued by the Council for Latin America and an article from the February 6 issue of the New York Times concerning an announcement by Mr. David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and George S. Moore, president of the First National City Bank, of the merger of three U.S. business organizations concerned with Latin America into the new Council for Latin America. Till now the three organizations have carried on separate activities. The purpose of the new Council will be to coordinate and strengthen economic, community, and cultural relations within the Western Hemisphere.

The merger of these organizations into a single unit is laudable and should help in the further strengthening of U.S. business activity in the broader fields of economic, social, and community development which are so essential in creating a favorable atmosphere for the growth of a viable private sector in Latin America.

There being no objection, the release and the article from the New York Times was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS FOR LATIN AMERICA ANNOUNCE MERGER AIMED AT IMPROVING HEMISPHERE RELATIONS

(Release from the Council for Latin America)

The Nation's three major business groups concerned with Latin American affairs today announced a merger aimed at strength-

ening economic, community, and cultural relations within the hemisphere.

The new organization will be known as the Council for Latin America and will include in its membership some 175 U.S. corporations. Its chairman will be David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

The merged unit will be headquartered in New York and will embrace the varied activities of these three groups:

1. The Business Group for Latin America (BGLA), an organization of U.S. business executives which was formed last year under the chairmanship of Mr. Rockefeller. It has served in an informal advisory capacity to Government officials and others concerned with Latin America, and has maintained close relations with Latin American business leaders.

2. The United States Inter-American Council (USIAC), a 22-year-old organization of U.S. corporations with interests in Latin America. USIAC is the North American section of the Inter-American Council of Commerce and Production, known in Latin America by the initials of its Spanish name, CICYP. It is a hemisphere-wide confederation of business firms and business organizations with headquarters in Montevideo, Uruguay. George S. Moore, president of the First National City Bank of New York, is president of CICYP.

3. The Latin American Information Committee (LAIC), which engages in educational and community activities in the Latin American countries.

The merger has been under discussion by the three groups for several months. The first formal step was taken at the annual membership meeting of USIAC in December when the merger was voted and Mr. Rockefeller was elected chairman of USIAC, succeeding John D. J. Moore, vice president of W. R. Grace & Co. The merger was ratified by the Business Group for Latin America and the Latin American Information Committee at special meetings held in New York yesterday.

In announcing the establishment of the new organization, Mr. Rockefeller said:

"The Council for Latin America is the culmination of a long period of planning and work by a number of outstanding persons. It is a clear indication of the U.S. business community's steadfast belief and staunch interest in the future of Latin America. Over the past few years, much has been accomplished through the private sector in dealing with Latin America, but now the results can be immeasurably enhanced.

"By welding together the principal private organizations concerned solely with Latin America, we have achieved for the first time one center of management and program direction, one center of fundraising and budget allocation, and one center of consultation with government and international organizations.

"Not only does this consolidation have an important meaning for us in American business but it carries equal significance for our colleagues in Latin America and for those in the U.S. administration who have long sought a unified private group with which to work. In the areas where the three organizations have been effective separately, we can now speak with one voice and act with even greater strength in support of the economic and social objectives of the Alliance for Progress."

John F. Gallagher, vice president of Sears, Roebuck & Co., has been chosen as senior vice chairman of the new Council for Latin America. The following vice chairmen were elected: H. W. Balgooyen, executive vice president, American & Foreign Power Co., Inc.; William Barlow, president, Vision, Inc.; Fred C. Foy, chairman, Koppers Co., Inc.; George S. Moore, president, First National City Bank of New York; John D. J. Moore, vice president, W. R. Grace & Co.;

John R. White, director, Standard Oil Co. (N.J.); and William S. Youngman, Jr., chairman, American International Underwriters Corp.

The executive vice presidents are John T. Smithies and Enno Hobbing. Mr. Smithies will be in charge of administration and its public relations activities. Mr. Hobbing will direct the council's educational and community relations programs. Richard T. Turner is executive director.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 6, 1965]
BANKERS ANNOUNCE THE MERGER OF THREE LATIN AMERICAN AID UNITS

Two leading New York bankers announced here yesterday the formation of a group of 175 top U.S. corporations to coordinate and strengthen economics, community and cultural relations within the hemisphere.

David Rockefeller, president of Chase Manhattan Bank, and George S. Moore, president of the First National City Bank, told a press conference that the growing interest in the problems and opportunities in Latin America had prompted the move.

The new unit will be known as the Council for Latin America, and will have Mr. Rockefeller as its chairman and Mr. Moore as a vice chairman. In effect, Mr. Moore and Mr. Rockefeller said, the new organization, which presently maintains offices at 201 Park Avenue South, will be born of the merger of three existing groups.

These are the Business Group for Latin America, an executive group formed last year; the United States Inter-American Council, a 22-year-old business group, and the Latin American Information Committee.

"I'm convinced that the business community in Latin America is waking up to the fact that it has social and economic responsibilities beyond its own businesses," Mr. Rockefeller said.

Sitting beside him at Chase Manhattan's headquarters, Mr. Moore observed: "There has been real growth in most Latin American lands last year * * * even Brazil, with a rate of inflation of nearly 100 percent, had a net growth of 1 percent."

Mr. Rockefeller, who recently returned from a visit to Peru, Colombia, and Chile, said: "It was my first visit to these countries in 7 years. Not only did I find progress, but also nothing but friendliness toward North Americans."

CHILEAN GAINS NOTED

He was encouraged by the trends in Chile. "After meeting with President Eduardo Frei Montalva, I am confident that his copper program will succeed once the congressional elections are out of the way in March," he said. "Mr. Frei also expects to cut the rate of inflation in Chile over a 5-year period."

Mr. Moore noted that inflation there was at the rate of 30 percent last year.

Besides Mr. Rockefeller as chairman and Forrest D. Murden, as his special assistant, John F. Gallagher, vice president of Sears, Roebuck & Co., was chosen as senior vice chairman of the new council.

OTHER OFFICERS

Other vice chairmen elected were H. W. Balgooyen, executive vice president of the American & Foreign Power Co., Inc.; William Barlow, president of Vision, Inc.; Fred C. Foy, chairman of the Koppers Co., Inc.; John D. J. Moore, vice president of W. R. Grace & Co.; John B. White, director, the Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey); and William S. Youngman, Jr., chairman of American International Underwriters Corp.

Mr. Rockefeller went on to say he had the impression that Chile may eventually sell its proposed stake in the copper industry to the private sector over a period of time.

During the hour-long informal session, Chase Manhattan's president said inflation was an important problem in most Latin

1965

lates were understandably in a state of disarray. These records are the requisite of effective prosecutions. Even now many of these essential records are in the hands of other nations, a principal one of which (the U.S.S.R.) has been most uncooperative with your efforts to bring these criminals to justice.

It was not until 1958 that the Ministers of Justice of the various Laender agreed to create a central office for the coordination of information and investigation of Nazi crimes at Ludwigsburg. As late as December 1964 it was announced that the Ludwigsburg staff would have to be increased to aid this work. Thus it is clear that until fairly recent times, prosecution has not been completely possible.

In this connection we must remember that the 1871 statute means not that prosecutions in general became possible, but that a prosecution of an individual is possible. I happen to believe that if this had been so in any particular case, you would have prosecuted. It follows, therefore, that the failure to prosecute a Nazi criminal means that due to the disorganization of the state for a long period it was impossible to have commenced such.

I therefore conclude that applying your own domestic law, the statute of limitations should run for 20 years from the date prosecution became in fact possible.

The fact that I have asserted here have been recognized by no less an authority than the German Ambassador to the United States. In "News From the German Embassy," vol. IX, No. 1, dated January 6, 1965, Ambassador Heinrich Knappstein stated:

"As I know from my own activity in the denazification process, German courts during the early postwar years were not able—or only to a very limited degree—to try Nazi criminals, because the Allies reserved these cases almost entirely for themselves. Only with the establishment of the Federal Republic and the conclusion of the Bonn Conventions of 1954 was German judicature able to take on fully the prosecution of Nazi criminals. This was particularly difficult in the beginning as the most important documents were still in Allied hands, and because it was especially difficult, during those first turbulent years, to reach surviving witnesses who were essential for such trials."

In the same publication, vol. VIII, No. 8, dated May 28, 1964, the Embassy published an interview with a senior prosecuting attorney, stating the following:

"Question. How is it that the Auschwitz and similar legal proceedings were started so late?

"Answer. There are many reasons for this. It has only been since 1956 that the Federal Republic of Germany has enjoyed full sovereignty in this as well as other areas. Beyond this the Allies conducted the Nuremberg trials from 1945 to 1948, and in concluding them in 1948 did not call the attention of German judicial authorities to the documents that remained and that despite Allied efforts all perpetrators of crimes had not been brought to justice. The documents necessary to prosecute such criminal actions were scattered throughout archives around the world. It took time to find out where they were and to get possession of these documents. There is a substantial body of documents in the East bloc states which remain inaccessible to use even today."

You have been candid enough to agree with me that some date after May 8, 1945, could reasonably be selected as a beginning point without violating your constitution or the rule of law as you see it. I very much hope you will now search for, select, adopt, and announce a date consistent with the facts and fair to society, both German and international, which suffered so much from the Nazi horrors.

I believe the date 1955—the date when complete German sovereignty was regained—

would be an appropriate date. This would extend prosecutions until 1975.

I recognize that your Ministry has been requested "to report to the Bundestag not later than March 1, 1965, whether in all pertinent murder cases investigations have been conducted and whether action has been taken to insure interruption of the statute of limitations."

I gathered from my conversations in Bonn that should your reply to the above question be in the negative, there would be a strong disposition in many German quarters, and perhaps in your Government to extend by direct legislation the statute of limitations if (to use the words of the Bundestag resolution of December 9, 1964) "the criminal prosecution of such murders cannot be insured in any other way."

While many have argued that "ultimate justice" demands that such crimes should be punished even if special and exceptional domestic legislation is required, you have personally been understood to reject this view on the ground that the desired end does not justify such means.

However, may I submit, that the decision to ask for such legislation cannot on your stated principles, rest on any estimate as to the number of criminals who will escape trial and justice if the time for prosecution expires on May 8, 1965. Therefore, I believe it is preferable not to wait until such a survey and estimate is made before announcing clearly and firmly that the time does not expire on May 8, 1965. An announcement to that effect predicated on the terms of the code of 1871, with a realistic finding of the date on which prosecution became possible, would do justice to society and honor to the rule of law.

HIGH-PROTEIN FLOUR

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I would like to invite the Members of the U.S. Senate, their staffs, and the Kansas congressional delegation to be my guests on Tuesday, March 2, from 8 a.m. to 10 a.m., in the visitors' cafeteria, New Senate Office Building, to taste the world's finest protein flour pancakes that will be served with a variety of sauces. All members of the press are also invited to attend the breakfast in honor of the 15th annual International Pancake Day Race.

The breakfast will be sponsored by the Liberal Junior Chamber of Commerce, Liberal, Kans.

This day is set aside in Kansas as Liberal's International Pancake Day, the day before the beginning of Lent, Shrove Tuesday. On this day the ladies of Liberal, Kans., run an annual footrace with the ladies of Olney, England, each runner holding a skillet in which she must flip a pancake three times while covering the course. The wives of Olney have been pancake racing since the year 1445. Liberal challenged the women of Olney in 1950 and the vicar of Olney, Rev. R. C. Collins, accepted.

On Shrove Tuesday, in England, it was customary for the housewives to stop their work and run to the church to be "shriven" of their sins when the church bells tolled. In 1445, a housewife heard the bells ring, but was caught in the middle of baking pancakes. She raced to the church carrying her griddle and pancakes with her. This was the beginning of the annual sporting event.

Be sure to join me for the world's finest pancakes.

ADDRESS BY MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON AT VISTA GRADUATION CEREMONY

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson our gracious First Lady, who has always taken such a deep and abiding interest in the problems of our country, and particularly in the needs of our less fortunate citizens, made an excellent address on Friday, February 26, 1965, on the occasion of the VISTA graduation ceremonies in St. Petersburg, Fla.

I ask unanimous consent that the remarks by Mrs. Johnson on this forward-looking and progressive program, which gives and will continue to give many of our concerned citizens opportunities for the discipline of service to others, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

REMARKS BY MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON, VISTA GRADUATION, ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

I am delighted to be in St. Petersburg today to join in a program which is surely an exciting landmark in the history of our Nation.

One of the most interesting things about the program to me is the name itself—Volunteers in Service to America—VISTA which says in one word what the program is.

You know, at our particular point of history, as we look back, this is a natural follow-up to successive periods when our country confronted great human problems. In the early and middle 19th century we proved that, whatever diversities existed among us, we could function as one Nation. In the later 19th century, we forged ahead an economic system strong and flexible enough to support an ever-rising standard of living. In the 20th century we recognized that we are, ineluctably, part of a complex and churning world, and swung our energies toward making that role a force for freedom.

Now we are boldly taking hold of an aspiration which men have known as long as there have been human beings—the eradication of the bleak winter of poverty from the climate of a whole society.

Of all the economic opportunity programs being launched, none better expresses the spirit of the entire war against poverty than the VISTA operation.

I am pleased to meet you VISTA graduates in person and to see you at work—as I will later in the day. You have already made your mark here in St. Petersburg. The petition of the people of Ridgecrest and Old Baskin's Crossing asking for you to stay is evidence of your success.

That—in this brief time—must be a special source of satisfaction. You men and women of all ages, from all parts of the country, from a variety of occupations, have chosen to interrupt your careers and sacrifice economics gain or give up the well-earned leisure of later years in order to help others.

American is many things. But above all—more than any nation in the history of man—ever since the first frontiersman picked up his musket to help protect a neighbor—we have been a nation of volunteers. We have been a land in which the individual says—"My neighbor needs me. I will do something."

You are graduating today into a stirring tradition. You are making glow again the word of that most American of poets, Walt Whitman, who wrote for us: "Behold, I do not give lectures or a little charity when I give myself."

And I cannot think of a more appropriate place for this first VISTA graduation than here in the prosperous city of St. Petersburg.

The poor are not an island. Their needs toll out to the whole community.

The very fact that a man is poor means that he needs the help of others—that he probably lacks the education and often the hopefulness to lift himself unaided. Changing his lot is a decidedly practical matter for everyone. Millions of the impoverished place a heavy drag on the whole society, cutting down the ability to purchase what we produce, diminishing tax revenues—easy prey to delinquency and crime.

The intense interest of thriving St. Petersburg in the VISTA program is a heartening symbol of what is happening across the Nation, where all of us are realizing that all the poor are the responsibility of all America.

I am struck, too, by the way the VISTA program has been working out in this community. Too often well-meaning people have approached a social problem with the assumption—let Washington draw up the perfect blueprint, complete down to the last comma.

But if the American experience has taught us any one fundamental lesson, it is this: There is no such thing as instant utopia—especially when the better world is conceived miles away from where it must take practical form.

Here in the St. Petersburg area, for some 7 years—long before we in Washington talked about a war on poverty—you have been at work to broaden economic opportunity.

Your many progressive educational institutions have been deeply involved. At Ridgecrest you have created a laboratory for healthy social change. You have proceeded on the only sensible assumption—that the national war against poverty must be fought in a thousand local battles—in the slums of individual cities, on worn-out farms, in the hollows of Appalachia, in isolated Indian reservations—wherever human beings stand with their noses pressed against the windows of our general affluence.

The result of your local progress is that VISTA has been able to function here as it should function everywhere in America. It has learned as much as it has taught. Its role has been not to bring full-blown answers but to join with others, tentatively, questioningly, on the road to a workable solution.

So we begin here, begin superbly, I believe, with this VISTA graduating class. I am proud to have been asked to give out your diplomas. I am privileged to share the rush of feelings that must be going through you.

Much has been said about the difficulties you will encounter. But you and I know that you also have before you the richest experience of your lives. To be at the forefront of a great national effort is an opportunity which comes to few in a generation, and the personal satisfaction it brings is deep and lasting.

For many of you this experience will be transforming. You will be confirming, in the most personal way, the wondrous truth which too often is a mere phrase. You will know, as nothing else could make you know, that we are all of us brothers, every one of us to every one of us.

You and the thousands who will follow you will have another privilege. In some countries, and in our own too, voices have been raised to say that a land as rich as ours can only produce a milk-lined civilization, marked by a moral deadening and the frenetic pursuit of push-button luxuries, a split-level, and a sports car. By what you are doing, you make those voices just so many hollow noises.

You are reliving the fundamentals on which the Nation was founded and by which it has grown great: That success is an imperative to service, not an invitation to apathy; that democracy means a human spirit which sweeps beyond mere laws; that the United States is blessed not so much by its roaring furnaces, not so much by its

abundant fields of grain, not even by space ships aloft, but by the national vision which calls upon us to use our resources so that every American can walk with head high in the tonic air of self-respect.

To all of you VISTA graduates, pioneers in a long and proud line to come, may I express my congratulations, my warmest best wishes, and—let me add—more than a bit of envy.

BISHOP GEORGE THEODORE BOILEAU

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, sad news from Alaska reached me over the weekend when I learned that one of the great citizens of my State, the Most Reverend George Theodore Boileau, coadjutor bishop of Alaska, died suddenly of a heart attack.

Bishop Boileau—and I have always, since his consecration last July, had difficulty in not referring to him as Father Boileau, because of his long service in the Jesuit order as parish priest at Fairbanks, Alaska—was not only one of the best known, but also one of the best loved, members of the Catholic clergy in Alaska.

I had known this wonderful man since he first came to Alaska, in 1950, to serve as assistant pastor at the Immaculate Conception Church in Fairbanks. After his outstanding service as pastor, he was appointed superintendent of all Catholic schools in the diocese of Alaska, in 1958.

Mr. President, Bishop Boileau combined admirably activities as a man of God and those of a man deeply immersed in civic responsibilities with his fellowmen. He served as chairman of the Employment Security Commission of the Territory of Alaska, before statehood. He was active as a Boy Scout official throughout his career in Alaska.

Last September, Bishop Boileau traveled to Rome, to participate in the Ecumenical Council of the Roman Catholic Church. In assuming the office of coadjutor bishop, in ceremonies presided over by Francis Cardinal Spellman at the Copper Valley School, near Glennallen, Alaska, last July, Bishop Boileau announced humbly that he planned to travel to the Jesuit schools, churches, and missions in the far-flung Alaska diocese in the same way he did as a priest “by dog team, plane, and sno-go.”

I know I speak for all of Alaska in saluting the service of this dedicated man to the people of my State. His untimely death at the age of 52 is a sad blow to us all. May his great soul rest in peace.

U THANT'S VIEW ON VIETNAM

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, in the February 26th issue of the Washington Post appeared an article, written by William S. White, under the title: “Negotiation?—U Thant's View on Vietnam.”

In the article Mr. White points out very clearly and pointedly the error of Mr. U Thant's judgment in condemning the United States for its action in South Vietnam, while remaining completely silent on the series of wrongs committed by the North Vietnamese Communists against the South Vietnamese people and Government.

Mr. U Thant obviously has forgotten the existence of the Geneva pact; if he remembers it and fails to give recognition to its provisions, he clearly reflects an unwarranted and unpardonable disregard for the sanctity of compacts entered into by different nations of the world.

The North Vietnamese Communists are in violation not only of the Geneva accord, but also of the 1962 pact creating a coalition government in Laos. The borders of both these nations have been methodically and systematically violated by the Communists. Yet, Mr. U Thant sees fit to disregard these hostile belligerent violations of nations' rights, and goes out of his way to condemn the United States, whose objective in South Vietnam has been, and is, to protect the people of that nation against the wrongs that have been perpetrated upon them by their neighbor—the Communists of North Vietnam.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. White be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

NEGOTIATION?: U THANT'S VIEW ON VIETNAM
(By William S. White)

With a rarely matched twisting of the truth, but at least with a certain insolent candor, Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations has now openly become an apologist and propagandist for Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

U Thant has now trumpeted as revealed truth, and without hesitation or qualification, the whole basic Communist line that the war in South Vietnam was only a little homegrown contest involving two sets of local boys until dreadful old Uncle Sam intervened to assist the anti-Communist government of that country. He has called upon us to negotiate and to withdraw ourselves as soon as possible.

In the process, he has rewritten 10 years of history, annulling 10 years in which the Communist government of North Vietnam has undeniably and consistently directed and supplied and commanded a tireless and savage invasion of South Vietnam in endless violation of agreements made in 1954 at just such negotiations as are now being so pressed upon us.

Thus, with U Thant's now unhidden recruitment to them, those forces seeking to blackmail or persuade the United States into abandoning its commitments in South Vietnam and to cut and run are at last complete. And what a pretty company they make for any American to travel with.

Thant, the Soviet Union, and Charles de Gaulle of France—this is the splendid trinity that, whatever the intention in individual cases, is taking actions to remove the American presence in Asia, to sully an American effort against pillage and murder of signal honor and decency, and to open all southeast Asia to the faceless hordes of Communist China.

And it would all be done under definitions that only Thant and the Communists can understand: If Communist forces invade or infiltrate a country, the resulting fighting is only “local” and nobody is intruding anywhere. If anti-Communist forces respond to an independent country's appeal for help against marauders, then this is not only intervention but also quite unacceptable intervention.

Even the precious little band of Democratic Senators that has been crying for weeks for “negotiation”—even though it is perfectly plain that negotiation at this stage would be outright surrender to aggression—may find